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refer to one another as *gia yirt'amini* (my "one grandfather") in preference to *gi'iwuni* (my brother), or *gia kalipini* (my half-brother), which is the normal term of address.

A member of another horde found trespassing upon the territory of the *Tiklauila* would be killed immediately unless he had been invited for a corroboree or some such festival. A member of the same horde who, not belonging to the *yirt'amini* group, trespasses in *Tapio* would not be put to death, but he and his relatives would become embroiled in a serious quarrel with the group.

Tapio is the best example of this peculiar institution because being in an out-of-the-way peninsula no one needs to go there except people who have a right there. Consequently the *Tapiauvila* can exercise a much stricter supervision and hence as a matter of fact guard their rights more jealously than the people with such rights over districts that lie upon the main roads of the two islands. Nevertheless the whole of *Tiklaru* is divided into such districts and the whole of the *Tiklauila* into such *yirt' amini* groups.

Thus bordering on the *Tapiauvila* to the east, we find the *Arupula* who have similar hunting and food-collecting rights over *Arupi*, the coastal district in the middle of the south coast of Bathurst Island. The origin of their title is lost in obscurity inasmuch as nobody to-day knows who the ancestor was or exactly where is the grave that gave them such a right. Nor is the *Arupula* title respected as much as is the *Tapiauvila* partly because *Arupi* is crossed by several "high-roads"—notably the only road to *Tapio* from the east, and the *Wrapgwila* road to the Mission Station —but even more because the present representatives of the *Arupula* are either uninitiated youths or peaceful old men.

This introduces what is perhaps the main factor in the perpetuation of this institution—the power of the *yirt'amini* groups to enforce their rights. The ownership of a particular territory by a horde and the punishment of trespass upon it can always be enforced because there is always a certain number of fighting men in the horde. Hence horde-ownership is respected. In the *yirt' amini* group, however, periods frequently occur when the group is not strong enough to enforce its claims, and unless the claims are constantly brought under the notice of the rest of the horde they are ignored. The result is that unless the family gets a new lease of life by boys growing up into formidable warriors, such a

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period is the prelude to the complete lapsing of the title to the district. The prominent part played in this institution by the father's father and the fact that most of the present districts held on such a title are held from the father's father whereas comparatively few are held through an ancestor (necessarily more remote) who has been forgotten, seems to indicate that *yirt' amini* holdings do not last more than three generations before they lapse for want of sufficient able-bodied men to enforce them.

It must not be imagined that the whole of Melville and Bathurst Islands are divided into such holdings nor indeed that everyone in the tribe belongs to such a group. The main obstacle to this lies in the self-evident fact that if one's father's father dies in the territory of another horde, as must have quite frequently have happened in the days of marauding expeditions between hordes, there can be no such thing as a *yirt' amini* holding of the district wherein he died. Moreover there are numbers of the Tiwi whose fathers and grandfathers died young, and the essence of the system is that the grandfather should have been old enough to have sufficient male children and grandchildren to enforce the claim.

It can easily be seen from the above how it comes about that each horde has a number of names, since each one of the *yirt' amini* group-names is liable to be applied to the whole horde merely by adding *-ila* or *-ula* to the name of the district they control.

Spencer's list of horde names is at variance with mine, because he did not realize this. Out of six men of the *Tiklauwila*, one might easily get six different answers to his question as to their "country," each giving the name of his *yirt' amini* group. It is quite possible that the horde names that are used here—*Tiklauwila*, *Munupula*, etc.—are really *yirt' amini* names that have become extended to include a whole horde either by the identification of a very powerful *yirt' amini* group with a horde in the eyes of the rest of the tribe or by the former horde name becoming tabu and a *yirt' amini* name being substituted. This view is strengthened by the fact that in one or two of the hordes, the horde name is still in use as the name of a district. Thus whereas the whole of the territory of the *Wilrayawila* on the north of Melville is technically *Wilrayau*, the native name for Karslake Island, a small portion of that territory, is *Wilrayau*. Similarly *Malau* is a creek in the territory of the *Malauila* horde.

A man is born into the horde of his father. Should his father die and his mother be taken by a member of another horde he goes with her, and WHILE THE WOMAN WILL ALWAYS BE LOOKED UPON AS BELONGING TO HER FORMER HORDE, THE CHILD CHANGES HIS, TAKING THAT OF HIS STEPFATHER.